1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1486] Choinimni

524 Women's dice game.---This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.---The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.---A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.---This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahač:n winatum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

[611] [211]

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li·'mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu'kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon (month).

[84] [343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this point). A bear claw was soaked in water and [237] [616] the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam- [823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand- [603] father brought the first cradle (bi''·č), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [555] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ah·'l·č), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the [856] child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree [789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

[611]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukehansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukehansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker.

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses.

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci.

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name.